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THE Nation

March 6, 1954
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Gentlemen's Agreement

by Carey McWilliams

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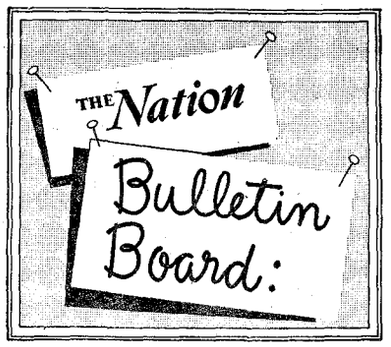

OCCASIONALLY a reader will chide us for not being more "positive" in our outlook. (Although inevitably the letter will end up asking wistfully: "What is there to be positive about?")

Hence the following positive note: The Nation's *circulation is going up!*

We won't cause any shivers at Time, Inc., but the fact is we've been growing at a steady rate month after month.

One new subscriber, after receiving a copy of the special civil-liberties issue, wrote: "*The Nation* is so important today because it is the one strong voice among magazines which keeps alive the vital question of liberty for all Americans."

A remarkable feature of our growth is that it comes at a time when many magazines, including some of the giants, are losing readers fast.

THE OTHER DAY, Carey McWilliams passed a letter on to me from his friend Ray Bradbury. Writing from Dublin, where he is working on a movie script of "Moby Dick" with John Huston, Bradbury says he's "delighted" that his book, "Fahrenheit 451," was chosen by our book club.

He adds that he'd like to do some writing for *The Nation* now but: "Huston and I start work at noon and stop at two the next morning. One scene was rewritten sixteen times; another nine times in the last few weeks alone. I'll be at this for weeks or months. . . . So it's impossible to do an article for you, much as I love *The Nation.*"

I'VE BEEN KICKING myself for missing a good bet around St. Valentine's Day. It would have been an opportunity to write a mash note to *Nation* readers: to tell them how heartening it is to the editors to receive their letters and how their cooperation has spelled success for a number of our new projects.

For instance: in response to a request readers sent in more than a thousand names of friends who might like *The Nation,* and over 10 per cent of the friends sent in subscriptions. Normally, if you get a return of 1.5 per cent on a mailing, you're doing fine. We shall be starting the campaign for friends' names again next week and we look forward to receiving the same kind of help.

Nation readers are also making best-sellers out of our reprint series. The total sales of five reprints run over 120,000 —with Does Silence Mean Guilt? still the standout and nearing the 50,000 mark. Incidentally, the reprints are a good way of introducing the magazine to your friends. (See advertisement below.)

The Nation's Choice, launched last December, is selling books in the hundreds and it looks as though we'll have a fairly successful book club by the end of this year. —All thanks to you.

DOWN IN TEXAS a gentleman called Rabbi Benjamin Schultz told a meeting of Houston Minute Women that he didn't like *The Nation* over-much. (Regarding the Minute Women, you may recall reporter Ralph O'Leary's fine article, Daughters of Vigilantism, in the January 9 issue.) Schultz, a professional anti-Communist, said: "I'm not accusing *The Nation* of being a Communist publication but I do say that *The Nation* is a pro-appeasement publication"—which we'll translate as pro-peace.

What Schultz did not tell the Minute Women was that he had been fired as a rabbi by his community and had been denounced for his activities by people like the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

DR. E. G. TALBERT of the University of Cincinnati, a *Nation* reader, is a gentleman who is seriously concerned about American institutions. Recently h took the time to write to a number of people suggesting that they read *The Nation's* civil-liberties issue, the American Civil Liberties Union's annual report, and the address by Justice William O. Douglas on The Bill of Rights—At Home and Abroad.

MARTIN SOLOW

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Volume 178, Number 10
New York, Saturday, March 6, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Revolts in the Desert

The fall from power of General Naguib and General Shishekly exposes the weakness of the so-called "strong-man" governments and the flimsiness of Western security based on arming the Arab states.

To any student of Middle Eastern affairs, the developments should not be particularly surprising, for both Egypt and Syria, though nominally republics, are military dictatorships with little popular support. In the case of Egypt, it is true, the Revolutionary Council representing the army eliminated the corrupt octopus of the monarchy and initiated some basic reforms, principally the land-reform act. But with the passage of time, essential social and economic change has been subordinated to the drive for power based on the campaign to force Britain out of the Canal Zone.

Like Naguib, Shishekly came to power by a military coup in 1951—the fourth since 1949. In this process two ruling heads were assassinated. He went through the motions of acquiring the title of President by means of a so-called plebiscite in 1953. Then he also adopted the titles of Prime Minister, Supreme Chief of the Army, and Chief of the Defense Council, and in addition helped to maintain himself in office by paying a stipend to various tribal chiefs. His overthrow, also by army coup, is part of a struggle which has as its objective, not reform, but power.

The successive coups in both countries have not changed the underlying situation, which is one of widespread unrest due to virtual starvation and the absence of fundamental reforms. They represent thrusts for power and also acts of diversion. For as new governments succeed old, it is clear that their leaders are drawn from precisely the same ruling classes. This is definitely the case in Syria and to a large extent in Egypt. Naguib is still a creature of the army. It may be assumed that considerable pressure was exerted to make him return to the presidency minus the portfolios of Prime Minister and chairman of the Revolutionary Council. It means simply that the army remains in control and that it finds Naguib still useful as a native of Soudan in consolidating Soudanese opinion behind Egypt. It should be clear that giving arms to any of the Arab states at this stage would represent a total loss. They would only be used to put down internal revolt without advancing internal or external security.

Regional Planning— and Middle Eastern Peace

Secretary General Dag Hammerskjold has shown commendable initiative in setting up a U. N. Staff Committee headed by Dr. Ralph Bunche to study existing plans for the development of the resources of the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers and to brief him on the whole problem.

It should be clear at the outset that no scheme for developing river resources with a view to the resettlement of Arab refugees has any except theoretical meaning if projected in a political vacuum. Within twenty-four hours of the Secretary General's announcement, notice was served on the U. N. that the Arab League would accept no plan except the Yarmuk plan. This would develop the Yarmuk and the Jordan rivers for the exclusive benefit of Jordan, while at the same time depriving Israel of water which for decades has served Jewish settlements. But even if carried out, the plan would solve the problem for only 150,000 Arab refugees, about one-third of those in Jordan, leaving the plight of some 700,000 others unresolved.

Since the Yarmuk plan was first advanced, the United States has sponsored a limited regional project which would serve principally Jordan, Syria, and, in some measure, Israel. The advantage of this over the Yarmuk plan is that it reduces costs and engineering difficulties. It does not appreciably increase the number of refugees who would benefit; nor does it serve Israel's principal needs, which are the diversion of water from the north to the south.

An agreement has been reached between Jordan and UNWRA on the Yarmuk project; no agreement exists on any other. Supposing the Arab states persist in their opposition to any regional plan, what will the U. N. do about it? Jordan, the only Arab League member not a member of the U. N., cannot make any unilateral agreement with it which runs counter to Arab League decisions

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unless it wants to be expelled. What it may come down to in the end is a contest between the authority of the U. N. and the authority of regional pacts.

The U. N. is only stirring up trouble for itself so long as it refuses to see that the basic issue which must be resolved is the final settlement of the Palestine war. With such a settlement, all kinds of regional developments are possible, with advantage to all and discrimination against none. Without such a settlement, the prospects are dim indeed. For it is clear that the Arab refugee problem cannot be solved without also raising the standard of living of the indigenous populations. To do so requires regional planning, the first element of which is stability. And without peace, there can be no stability.

Let's Tax Texas

The hubbub over the "Stevens story" has buried under an avalanche of headlines one of the most constructive legislative proposals of the current Congress. Senator John J. Williams of Delaware, where oil, fortunately, has yet to be discovered, has suggested a reduction in oil and gas tax-depletion allowances from the current 27½ per cent to 15 per cent. "Suppose a man brought in wells which earned him $1,000,000 a year," the Senator points out. "Under the present law there would be no income tax on the first 27½ per cent or $275,000 of gross income. This goes on indefinitely without regard to the man's original investment. This has the effect of making it possible for an individual or a corporation to recover, tax free in many cases, many times more than the original investment."

What with Texas oil tycoons so conspicuously throwing their weight and their funds around in this year's Congressional campaign, threatening to knock over a Senator here and a Representative there, Senator Williams has come up with a most attractive idea. Now is an excellent time to force a vote on this sound proposal that the Texas "big dealers" pay their fair share of taxes. It will force their friends to step forward and be identified and at the same time it will give those Senators and Representatives who have been marked for destruction a chance to minimize the amount of "oil money" that will be given to their rivals. It will certainly be fascinating to watch the political polka that will be danced as Senator McCarthy, President Eisenhower, Senator Lyndon Johnson, and others, Democrats and Republicans, who have long enjoyed the hospitality and patronage of the Texas oil kings, wriggle on the horns of the dilemma that this proposal, advanced by a leading Republican Senator, presents to them.

Coming Soon

THE INFORMER by Frank Donner

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Gentlemen's Agreement

BY CAREY MCWILLIAMS

In the finale of the Stevens story, W. H. Lawrence of the New York *Times* asked Senator McCarthy whether he agreed with Senator Dirksen that the Secretary of the Army had not surrendered. " 'I agree on that,' he said with a big grin on his face. 'It was just a case of reaching an agreement.' Surreptitiously, he kicked a correspondent in the shins as he made the statement."

Since then there have been qualifications, post facto interpretations, charges and counter-charges, but the gentlemen's agreement has not been rescinded. Mr. Stevens may not realize it—his political perceptions are not quick—but he has already walked too far with the devil to turn back now.

The walk began when the Secretary of the Army elected to make the issue Senator McCarthy's rude handling of a distinguished officer. To be sure, an issue involving officer morale was at stake, not to mention the question of how Senators should behave toward witnesses whether they are brigadier generals or cafeteria workers. But General Zwicker was simply given the routine treatment prescribed for all but so-called "friendly" witnesses.

No, the real issue was simply whether McCarthy should be permitted to continue his march to power unopposed or, stated another way, whether the principle of the separation of powers still prevails. By contrast, the issue on which Mr. Stevens elected to stand was not only trivial; it was misleading. For it gave McCarthy precisely what he wanted, namely, a chance to have his phony demagoguery taken seriously. McCarthy had no case against the army. On the face of it, there was nothing wrong or improper in the discharge granted Major Peress, and once granted it could not be revoked. And the gossip about "the communications relay-machine operator"—a clerk twice cleared by army loyalty investigators, who denied under oath that she was a Communist, who could not be positively identified by the informer who had named her as a Communist, and whose duties consisted of feeding "unintelligible" tape into a telegraph machine—was so preposterous that even McCarthy was somewhat embarrassed. If anything could be sillier than Mr. Stevens's pathetic assertion that he had not surrendered—"he merely thought they [Dirksen, McCarthy, Potter, and Mundt] wanted to look at his sword," one observer commented—it is the contention that he was wise to act as he did because "the army had a weak case." McCarthy doesn't care whether a case is strong or weak. He is always in complete control of the hearings and he knows that his bluffs will not be called. He does not need to prove a charge; all he needs to do is to whisper "communism" and even men sworn to uphold and protect the Constitution will act like so many sheep.

But there is another reason why in each of the numerous crises that have arisen in the course of the witch hunt the guardians of constitutional power have finally elected to surrender. What they want is a "nice" witch hunt, directed by men of decorum, subject to "proper rules" which make it possible to lynch a witness politely. On this score McCarthy is right: it is impossible to conduct a successful heresy hunt without using his methods. Thus when faced with a clear-cut choice between rejecting the witch hunt, which they regard as an essential defense against communism, or capitulating to him, they have taken the second course in every case but one: when Allen Dulles refused to permit McCarthy to muscle in on the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency.

UNFORTUNATELY Mr. Stevens is not the only one who has surrendered to McCarthy; it is just that his surrender was conspicuous. For example, after publishing fine editorials on the Zwicker incident on successive days, the New York *Times* proceeded to give away about as much ground in a third editorial as it had undertaken to defend in the first two. For on the day of Mr. Stevens's humiliating surrender the *Times* devoted an editorial to the Subversives Activities Control Board in which the hearings of the board were favorably compared with "the irresponsible sideshows staged so frequently in Washington." Devoted solely to the pursuit of heresy, the Subversive Activities Control Board has been as destructive of due process and intellectual freedom as any of the inquisitorial committees. What the *Times* was saying is simply that the hearings of the board have been "quiet," that is, they have not been conducted by high-powered medicine men like McCarthy. In this year's campaign McCarthy has hand-picked Robert L. Jones, a former researcher for Senator Potter, to oppose Senator Margaret Chase Smith in Maine. Senator Smith will discover that sponsorship of President Eisenhower's proposal to strip citizenship from any American convicted of conspiring to overthrow the government will not save her from McCarthy's attacks; her sponsorship of this dangerous measure has made her McCarthy's hostage. He can never be effectively opposed by those who have granted his major premise.

The ineffectiveness of the opposition to McCarthy is further illustrated by Senator Morse's current protests against "one-man" Congressional inquiries. But McCarthy's hateful methods are simply a function of the task he has undertaken. He would no more respect any rules the Senate might adopt than he would abide by a gentlemen's agreement. Besides, for him the hour is late. No matter how reckless or desperate the particular gamble may be, he has no choice now but to take it, for he has reached the point of no return in his bid for total power.

Nor will his opponents recognize that McCarthy oper-

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ates on two levels. On one he is the good showman and astute politician. McCarthy shrewdly recognized the value of a brawl with the army. It was "big news" by any definition, and it cast him in the role of the tough guy who does not hesitate to push the top brass around. It even gave him a chance to pose as the defender of the Constitution. But while he plays by ear he also follows the score. He has an excellent understanding, as he has demonstrated many times, of the blueprint by which European fascists undertook the conquest of power. He knows that he must "coordinate" the army if he is to win total power; an army manned by professional officers, with a high sense of responsibility, cannot be as easily induced to engage in dangerous gambles with a nation's safety as one run by opportunists. In every major sortie he has undertaken to date McCarthy has operated with the assistance of a "fifth column" within the particular agency under attack. He was coached by inside opportunists in the Voice of America investigation; he has informers in the State Department; and his access to F. B. I. reports has raised comment on more than one occasion. Can it be, then, that he is without allies in the Defense Department? Does anyone believe that the Pentagon is united in its opposition to him because of his "rudeness" to General Zwicker? It is not necessary to underscore the implications of columnist George Sokolsky's comment in the New York *Journal-American* (February 26): "Many army officers are prepared to talk and do talk privately when assured that they will not be exposed. Without the assistance of what has come to be known as 'the Pro-American Underground', little data could be made available." Once the opportunists in the Pentagon become convinced that their superiors will buckle under political attacks, the current secret shift to McCarthy might become a landslide. That an effective liaison already exists is shown by many circumstances. For one thing, the similarity of Senator McCarthy's views on several issues—China is one—with some of the President's old antagonists in the armed services is hardly coincidental.

When Mr. Stevens learns a little more about McCarthy and how he operates—when he begins, that is, to start looking over his shoulder in the Pentagon—he will be even less likely to force a showdown than he was in this instance. Nor is it reasonable to assume that the Commander-in-Chief will at last decide to act. Ironically, the President and his advisers seem to believe that they cannot repudiate McCarthy without destroying his "usefulness" in this year's Congressional campaign, whereas almost everyone else now knows that McCarthy intends to use the campaign, if he can, to capture outright control of the Republican Party. President Eisenhower should not be trying to defeat Senators Douglas, Humphrey, Anderson, Murray, and Gillette; they are more likely to support him on crucial foreign-policy issues than any Republicans McCarthy might campaign for. Indeed, the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party is now nearly encircled, and every day it continues the collaboration with McCarthy the right wing of the party is strengthened. Today the President's advisers tell him that it is inexpedient to oppose McCarthy; tomorrow they may tell him that it is too late. On his recent cross-country junket McCarthy made it quite clear that he intends to raise a great hue and cry about "betrayal in the Far East." In Los Angeles he outlined a policy which if adopted would make it impossible for the Administration to reduce tensions in Asia. His easy victory in the Zwicker incident should be sufficient warning of his power to upset any minor accords that may emerge from the conference which convenes in Geneva on April 26 or to use these accords to undermine the President's leadership of the Republican Party.

THE ZWICKER incident will have served a purpose, however, if it shocks national opinion into a realization of the gravity of "the present danger." The awakening process is long overdue. For if an effective political opposition to McCarthy exists anywhere in the country today it has yet to make its appearance. By a vote of 362 to 1—only Congressman Roy W. Wier voting against it—the House has just given Mr. Velde's Committee on Un-American Activities a new appropriation of $275,000. This is a measure of the effective opposition to McCarthy in Congress. Nevertheless, as *The Nation* has steadily insisted, McCarthy *is* vulnerable. Emperor Joe is an artful bluffer but he has no clothes. His social program is "anti-communism," nothing more; his foreign policy is aimed at isolating America and then provoking a war with China. McCarthy has a guerrilla following that extends from coast to coast and that cuts across party lines, but as yet he has no genuine organizational or bureaucratic support. While he is a stooge for important economic interests—the recent hearings in Albany and Boston might have been ordered by General Electric—he does not have the united support of big business by any means. At the moment he is engaged in a desperate race to capture power before the tensions of the cold war relax and the "rolling adjustment" rolls over him. Now, therefore, is the time to break the hypnotic spell of his "anti-Communist" necromancy. This is not so difficult a task as it appears to be. But the neo-fascist movement of which McCarthy is now the recognized national leader—every village and town and every organization has its "bite-size" would-be leader—cannot be countered by smart tactics or clever manipulation; it must be opposed politically. The forces exist to oppose it, but they need to be organized around a program that will raise the real issues of the time by a leadership that has rejected the notion that communism can be fought as a heresy. What must be recognized is that the texture

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as well as the structure of American society is being warped by anti-democratic pressures, so that the longer a showdown is delayed, the harder it becomes to stage one. The extent of this damage is not known, but in some fields—education is a case in point—it will not be easily repaired.

Despite his latest and dizziest triumph McCarthy lives on borrowed time. But so did Hitler—for years—until his backstage sponsors finally overcame their distaste for his methods and placed him in power. And this too could happen here, with or without gentlemen's agreements.

SOLUTION IN INDO-CHINA

Cease-Fire, Negotiate . . *by Bernard B. Fall*

"WHAT we have here is a sort of *gouvernement crépusculaire*—a twilight government," said the French colonel in charge of the Pacification Bureau in Hanoi. "In our own area we control the cities and major roads from daybreak till nightfall. Thereafter the Vietminh has the country to itself to levy taxes, attack our posts, and execute the 'Vietnamese traitors,' that is, the Nationalists who still profess to believe in victory for our side." Such, in a nutshell, is the situation in war-torn Indo-China, a country about eight times the size of the Republic of Korea, after more than seven years of bitter fighting. France has spent twice as much on the Indo-China war as it has received under the Marshall Plan for its own rehabilitation, and America has furnished much more military and economic aid—calculated on a per capita basis—than it ever gave to Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists. Why, then, has the war become a military stalemate in which the French and Vietnam Nationalists are unable to hold the countryside and the Vietminh, short of massive Red Chinese intervention, cannot hope to breach French defenses around the major urban strongholds?

Politically, the situation looks even more hopeless for the West. France has not succeeded in convincing the Vietnamese that it will make good its promises of full independence, though it has already granted more independence to Bao Dai than Ho Chi-minh ever asked for. At the same time the Vietnamese Nationalist government, by its accumulating psychological mistakes, has been divorced not only from the mass of the farmers but from its most promising military cadres. A young graduate of the *Ecole Militaire Inter-Armes* at Dalat said to me: "How do you think it feels getting oneself killed in the jungle for that man who comes up here to swear us in wearing a Riviera suit, a polka-dot tie, and inch-thick crepe soles?" He was referring to His Majesty Bao Dai, commander-in-chief of the Vietnamese forces, who has not yet been seen in the uniform of his army.

AS LONG AS the military situation had not too seriously deteriorated and as long as the Chinese Communists were committed in Korea, the possibility of a political solution of the Indo-China conflict was pushed into the background by everyone concerned. Now, however, the French are obviously eager to stop the fighting in any way possible, and the Big Four, influenced by the problem of German rearmament, have agreed to a broad conference on both Indo-China and Korea to be held at Geneva next month.

Repatriation of the troops in the Far East would increase France's field forces in Western Europe and North Africa from about twelve divisions to an army of some twenty-two fully equipped and well-trained divisions and put a stop to the heavy drain of casualties on its élite commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The easing of the strain upon French financial resources would also speed up domestic economic recovery. This line of reasoning has been expounded by the French left for the past seven years—with emphasis upon the fact that an end to the Indo-China conflict would mean "liberation from American tutelage." Last fall the debates in the French Parliament made it dramatically clear that the desire to put a halt to the war had cut across all party lines. It was a Gaullist deputy, a former general, who presented the problem in its simplest form: "Having promised independence to the Associated States, we would have to leave Indo-China even if we won a total victory. So what are we fighting for, and for whom?"

The vote to continue the war was more a matter of political pork-barreling than an expression of the deputies' feelings. The widespread desire to "get rid of the whole mess" was heightened by Ho's offer of peace talks made through a Swedish non-Communist newspaper and by Mr. Dulles's threat of an "agonizing reappraisal" of United States foreign policy if E. D. C. did not go through. Another discouraging fact was the refusal of the Vietnamese "congress," which had been handpicked by Bac Dai, to rubber-stamp his policy of integration into the French Union or even to vote a motion of thanks to the French soldiers who were fighting and dying within gunshot of the building where the congress met. Few Nationalist leaders seem convinced of the "usefulness" of the war, not to speak of the possibility of an ultimate victory for France and the Nationalists.

That truce talks must and will eventually take place is by now accepted by every responsible French politician. It is

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BERNARD B. FALL, a graduate assistant with the Southeast Asia Program of Cornell University, has just returned from Indo-China.

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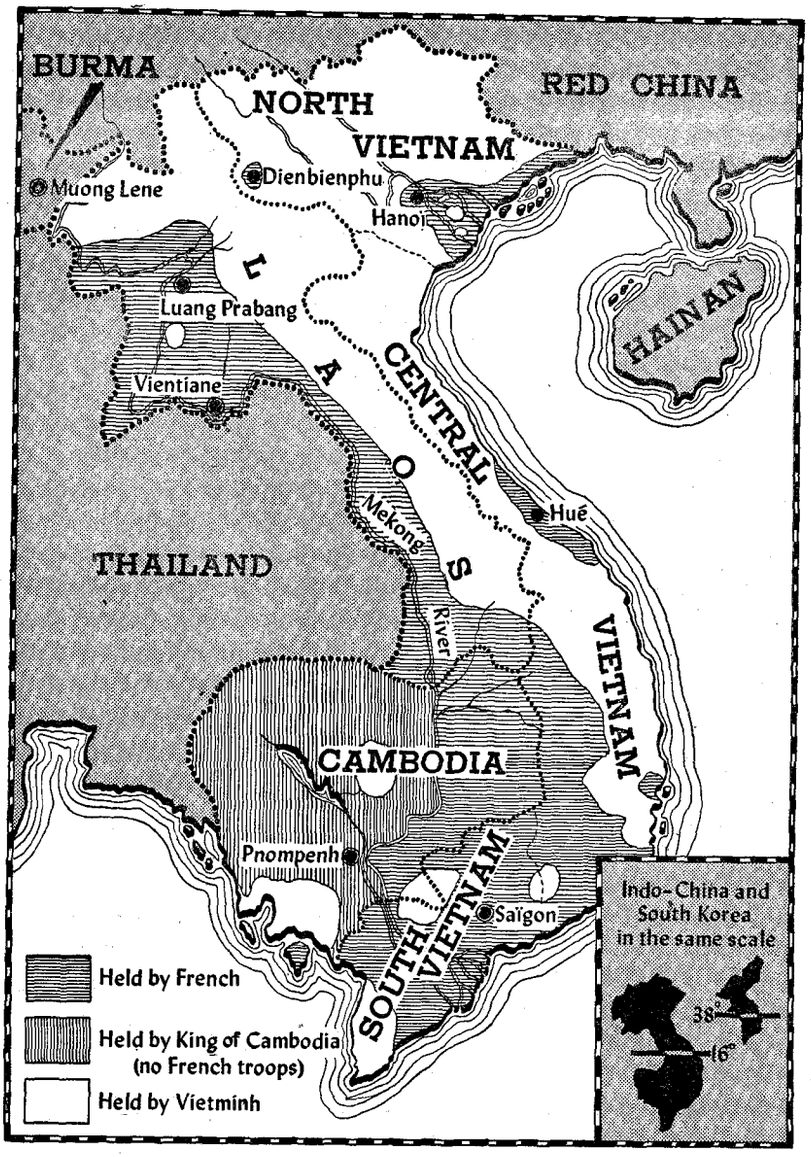

merely a question of when, how, and with whom. A face-saving victory that would make negotiation palatable has eluded General Navarre for the past six months, and the military situation while by no means desperate, was never more humiliating than at this moment.

On the other hand, self-styled experts on both sides of the Atlantic have oversimplified the situation by comparing it to Korea. Both countries have a Communist government supported by the Soviet bloc and a Nationalist government supported by the West, but here the similarity ends. Korea, as a peninsula, has well-defined boundaries on three sides, while Indo-China's borders are so uncontrollable that their tracing is a matter of doubt and controversy. Korea is a country of bare hills, while Indo-China is 85 per cent covered with thick subtropical jungle which makes movement of large units impossible and considerably reduces the effectiveness of modern heavy weapons. It also renders enemy movements practically immune to air observation and bombing. A Western defeat in Korea would not immediately affect its neighbors, separated from it by hundreds of miles of open sea, but a Communist victory in Indo-China would immediately outflank Thailand and rip wide open the unruly northern Burmese border. In the latter area Kuomintang guerrillas are not the only foreign troops. The Cominform headquarters for all Southeast Asia are at Muong Lene, under the command of a Vietminh general, Nguyen Van Long, and are protected by a Vietminh regiment alternately stationed in Burma and Yunnan.

There can be no doubt that the United States has already considered what course it would take in the event of the loss of Vietnam. It is certainly not by sheer coincidence that General Donovan, wartime O. S. S. chief, is now ambassador to Thailand. However, the separation from Vietnam of the ethnically related states of Laos and Cambodia—as was discreetly suggested in a Thai note to those states a few weeks ago—would have dubious results. The present peacefulness of Thailand, though hailed by the Department of State as the success of a "working democracy," is more probably due to the fact that Thailand is an extremely useful transit base for the Communist regimes around its borders. Arms can be imported through it and such dollar-earning exports as opium, wolfram ore, and rice can be sent out of Vietminh-held areas. No one has any immediate interest in disturbing the proverbial goose that lays the golden eggs.

WHAT CAN BE done, by the French alone or by the Big Four at Geneva, to bring about a cease-fire in Indo-China? Two alternatives may be ruled out—a "total" French victory and a fighting evacuation à la Dunkirk. A decisive victory would require a war effort which France could not make when the war was still young and certainly not now without depleting its European forces to the point of mortal danger. A fighting evacuation is equally senseless, for the army would have to take along 50,000 French civilians living in Indo-China, about 300,000 Eurasians who are French nationals, and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese too compromised to be left behind for mass "People's Court" trials. Thus negotiations offer the only solution, and the first step, as Nehru has suggested, must be a cease-fire.

A cease-fire, however, is likely to prove even more difficult to achieve in Indo-China than in Korea, where negotiations were held up for eight months, for in Indo-China no front and no battle lines exist. The French army guards the Red River Delta with pillboxes, forts, and bunkers, but French Intelligence acknowledges that from 30,000 to 60,000 guerrillas are within the Delta, including certain famous regiments. The same infiltration is found along the northern and central Laos fronts, the tiny sliver of French-held Annamite coast, and in sizable areas of southern Vietnam. An armistice would stop the French from hitting major enemy units while giving the Vietminh a unique chance to enter

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Franco-Nationalist areas in such numbers as to completely paralyze whatever remains of orderly government.

It has been argued that Indo-China should be partitioned across its waist, on the Sixteenth Parallel, just as Korea was divided. In that case the northern part, which contains the Vietminh's strongholds and is contiguous to Red China, would be left in the hands of Ho's regime. This would mean handing over to the Vietminh two-thirds of Vietnam's population, the bulk of its industry, some of Asia's best anthracite fields, the flourishing port of Haiphong, and the capital city of Hanoi, with its powerful transmitter and the country's only full-fledged university. Most of Indo-China's non-ferrous metals, including uranium phosphates, are also located north of the Sixteenth Parallel. Moreover, there would be no iron-clad guaranty against further Vietminh infiltration into the part of the country left to Bao Dai. The Franco-Nationalist side could hardly win popular support after having sold down the river more than one-half of the territory and about fourteen of the twenty-three million inhabitants of Vietnam.

If a cease-fire could be arranged, the most promising next step would seem to be the establishment of an intermediary government, after an internationally supervised cooling-off period. The West would still have a number of trump cards in Indo-China which the Soviet bloc could hardly match. The southern part of the country is its "iron lung," with its huge rice surplus and dollar-earning exports of rubber, pepper, coffee, and precious woods. It is obvious that, deprived of the south, the Ho Chi-minh regime would face either starvation—as in 1946 when it was deprived of southern imports—or a type of integration into the Red Chinese economy that would be the equivalent of annexation. And any Vietnamese, no matter what his political color, is highly wary of the Chinese "big brother." Therein lies the great opportunity for the West: massive economic aid might swing the balance and substitute for the total loss of Indo-China in a creeping war the building up of a neutral regime. Such a regime would depend upon Western supplies to survive economically, for neither Red China, plagued by its own lack of consumer goods, nor the Soviet Union, already behind in its promised deliveries to North Korea, could possibly fill the immediate requirements of the ravaged country.

Political successes almost entirely due to the intelligent dispensation of economic aid have been won elsewhere—notably in Yugoslavia and Austria. Economic aid to all of Indo-China, under either United Nations or neutral auspices, might make possible a solution acceptable to both sides. Ho Chi-minh's interview with the Swedish *Expressen* made specific reference to such aid.

Any solution that accomplishes the effective neutralization of Indo-China would be more desirable than this hopeless stalemate in the jungle swamps. In this lies the importance of the Geneva conference. We need have no illusions about Ho's regime; it is of course Communist-dominated. But so are North Korea and Red China, with whom the United States sat at the conference table for two years; and so is the U. S. S. R. and its satellites, with whom the United States, and France, maintain normal diplomatic relations. A farsighted policy in Indo-China based on well-administered aid might do more to stem the Communist tide in Southeast Asia than the sending of a few technicians or of a few additional plane-loads of napalm.

CHINA'S IMPACT

Facts That Must Be Faced . . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

FROM now until April 26—and after—China will dominate the international controversy. Within the United States it will be the most talked-about subject in the field of foreign affairs. European opinion and American opinion clash on this issue more than on any other. Summarizing the French position, Harold Callender writes from Paris in the New York *Times* of February 22: "These [French] experts consider that the issue of recognition of the Peiping regime is sure to arise sooner or later under the compulsion of realities." Summarizing the American reaction, William S. White reports in the same paper from Washington on February 23: "Most of the Republican Congressional leaders looked with reserve and misgivings to the forthcoming Geneva conference."

In this context the picture of Communist China today as drawn by non-Communist observers is of particular interest. During my recent stay in Geneva I had the good fortune to meet an outstanding United Nations authority on Asian affairs who recently spent several months in China studying its internal situation and talking with officials and informed citizens. What follows is an accurate résumé of a long interview he gave me just before I left.

The first thing to be kept in mind—he began—is that Communist China was born of a struggle not only between two rival factions or two opposing political conceptions, but between the 85 per cent of Chinese who wanted to be sure of getting their daily bowl of rice and the 15 per cent who, supported by foreign capital, wanted to go on living in luxury at the expense of the others. Anyway, Americans cannot with good grace complain if the Chinese decided to take seriously their denunciations of colonialism and poverty. Of the four freedoms proclaimed by Roosevelt, it is the third—freedom from want—that the Chinese, like the rest of Asia, have made the supreme goal of their struggle. Today there is no abundance in China; there is

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even famine in some districts. But at least where food is available it is available to everybody. Speculators and the rich cannot hoard food for their profit or private consumption while the people starve. This in itself is enough to make the present regime secure. But in addition, the imagination and hope of hundreds of millions of men and women have been aroused. For the first time a better personal future is identified with a better national future. Communist China carries more weight in the world than the old China ever carried. Whether we like it or not, there is leadership, a plan, and a determination hitherto unknown. Collective action, organized and directed by a centralized executive, draws upon the potential energies of 425,000,000 human beings. Nothing comparable has happened in China for 800 years.

THE PRESENT leaders have looked for strength where it is to be found, among the masses—the peasants first of all, the new, rapidly growing working class, and, especially, the youth of the country. Nobody today doubts that China's youth are on the side of the Peking government, not in a passive and resigned manner but with an enthusiasm created by the responsibilities and appreciation heaped upon the young generation and by the new opportunities to become doctors, engineers, professors, and journalists instead of living and dying as coolies.

A Westerner will naturally reject many aspects of the regime, he went on—its doctrinaire rigidity, the tight discipline and prevalent propaganda, but among the totalitarian systems China does exhibit some differences from its fellows. For example, the insistence of the leaders on maintaining the appearance of a coalition government is very significant. The united front, a favorite formula of Sun Yat-sen, is utilized as a means of securing a working relationship among peasants, industrial labor, the middle class, and what are called "national capitalists." It would be false to deny the brutalities, coercion, and injustices which seem inevitable in a revolution on such a vast scale, or to doubt the supreme power exercised by the Communist Party. Yet the small group of people who head the government make a point of reminding visitors that more than ten parties are still represented in the People's Consultative Political Council.

Peking counts on Russia's support. Things will have to change a great deal before China abandons its Soviet ally. This does not mean that the Chinese Revolution is merely a reproduction of the Russian. The differences between them are real ones, but they hardly justify the ingenuous conclusion of some people that Mao will turn out to be another Tito. The very fact that China is a great and potentially powerful nation in its own right diminishes the likelihood of a Titoist rebellion. In any case, even if a chance exists of separating the two

countries, the policy the West has adopted toward China will certainly not help bring it about.

The conclusion of the Korean war increased the prestige of the Peking government among its own people and its neighbors. But apart from its popular support, the real explanation of the regime's stability, my informant believes, has been its success in building a strong army without allowing the military to dominate the state or the ruling party. Mao Tse-tung decided that the Chinese revolution could succeed only by achieving military power; so he devoted much of his time and talent to the creation of an army. But from the beginning he gave this army a popular character. In his books on strategy he showed himself a master of guerrilla warfare; his methods applied equally well to the anti-Japanese struggle and to operations against Chiang Kai-shek. These military treatises are essentially political documents. The army is a political army and its soldiers are both fighters and revolutionaries. The official figures indicate an army of five million men with good equipment; but the generals, most of them still under fifty, always insist upon the important role played by political indoctrination and revolutionary ardor. In spite of this, Mao has taken precautions. He has done the opposite of what Chiang did. Chiang put his party, the Kuomintang, under the army; Mao has put the army under the Communist Party.

The Chinese leaders have also been clever enough not to appear to repudiate China's past. They are not ashamed of having identified themselves with the Kuomintang in the war for China's independence. They like to declare that the real spirit of the Kuomintang lives on in Communist China—it has merely found a different body. Mao Tse-tung is presented as the spiritual heir of Sun Yat-sen and leader of the new China. National and revolutionary ideas are thus fused, giving the regime both continuity and a great feeling of self-assurance. "Other observers"—my informant concluded—"may have drawn a different conclusion, but in my opinion the Peking government is one of the most stable regimes existing today."

SO MUCH for the report of my official informant. I have supplemented it with facts on other aspects of China's condition gathered from sources also available in Geneva.

Until recently all persons admitted to China were sympathizers, frequently participants in the meetings of World Peace Congresses who finished their journey into the new ideological world with a visit to the biggest country won by the Communist revolution. But during the past year many European business men—British, French, Swiss, and Scandinavian—have visited Peking, seduced by the prospects of a potentially great market. The latest to turn their eyes toward China, according to reports published in the London press, are the industrialists of the Rhineland. The British, who were secretly rejoicing that their most serious competitors, the Americans, were out of the running because of Washington's opposition to trade with the Communists, are now beginning to fear the sharply increased competition of West Germany. Even under present occupation restrictions, German manufacturers this year shipped to China sheet steel, precision instruments, electrotechnical equipment, and optical instruments. Once its sovereignty is fully restored,

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West Germany will be able to take full advantage of the favorable conditions for Chinese trade opened by the Korean peace. While commerce with Western countries—except the United States—is growing, Peking is also developing trade with the Eastern European states. China sends them tungsten ore, mercury, tin, cobalt, pig iron, and iron ore; it imports from them motors, drills, construction machinery, and consumer goods.

The personal observations of business men from many capitalist countries who have visited China have been carefully collated by various U. N. agencies interested in the question of East-West trade. Although visits have been limited in time and aim, the coincidence of the experiences of these men permits a solid judgment on the economic policies of the Communist regime and on general conditions in the country. According to reports I have had an opportunity to study, the fact that has impressed Westerners most favorably is the Peking government's policy toward private industry. While the interests of the state prevail over private interests, the government is not nationalizing most private enterprises. Industry and commerce may remain in private hands if they do not become an obstacle to Peking's industrialization program. Some private industry has even been encouraged to expand, especially in directions which contribute to the reconstruction and improvement of village economy. In this connection the Hongkong correspondent of the London *Times* recently commented: "There are many Chinese business men no less enthusiastic at the picture of an industrialized China than any Communists."

Even in carrying out the land reform, the Peking government seems to have shown a good deal of practical sense. Mao Tse-tung himself issued a warning against extremism: "The work of agrarian reform," he said in 1950, "should be carried forward by stages and in an orderly manner." The Communist authorities knew well that by giving land to peasants they would gain the support of hundreds of millions. But they also knew that irresponsible radicalism could imperil the economy of the nation. So land reform was prepared carefully and instituted step by step.

What still remains to be done is enormous. The agricultural cooperatives have solved some of the problems; but although the peasants have emancipated themselves from feudalism, most of them continue to use individual and archaic methods which keep productivity at a very low level. To overcome this, the modernization of agriculture and industrialization must go hand in hand. In the meantime, more than 225,000,000 formerly landless and land-poor peasants have received a share of the "good earth" either individually or through collective farms. This one basic change is the Peking government's best insurance against any attempts from Formosa to instigate a counter-revolution.

AS IN RUSSIA, the idea of planning dominates everything. The first Five-Year Plan started only last year, so it is too early to judge its real possibilities. However, European business men who have visited the interior were impressed by the tempo of industrial activity in the cities of the Northeast. Their reports indicate that the Mao government is genuinely trying to bring in foreign specialists and technicians. Naturally, Russia provides a great number of these; it has agreed to provide economic and technical help between now and 1959 for the building or reconstruction of over ninety industrial enterprises. But Peking has welcomed Swiss, Scandinavian, and Belgian experts and employs them on very favorable terms.

The advances which the Chinese government has made in the four and one-half years of its rule have not obscured shortcomings still to be found everywhere: inaccurate planning, inadequate business accounting and waste, inexperience in handling comparatively large-scale construction in factories and mines, and so on. But foreign business men report an immense effort to overcome these deficiencies. They also report attempts to improve health conditions and reduce the mortality rate, which was among the highest of Asia and the world. By the end of the century it is

estimated that China will have a population of 800,000,000—almost double its present number.

This is one reason why a policy based on the hope of replacing the Mao regime with that of Chiang is so unrealistic. A recent editorial in *Le Monde* said: "The regime of Mao Tse-tung, in spite of its difficulties, is consolidating, while on the island of Formosa the regime of Chiang Kai-shek is threatened by slow disintegration." Chiang's army of some twenty divisions, which really count because of their American equipment and training, is still too weak for offensive action; in addition its average age is getting higher every year and it has no way of renewing its cadres by normal recruitment. In view of these facts, most European diplomats and political experts hope the United States government will one day summon the courage to tell the country that the policy of backing Formosa against Peking can only lead to new disappointments. When, and with what chance of success, they ask, is the great assault to take place that will rescue China from the clutches of communism?

Some people see the solution in that "massive retaliation" threatened in case Peking resumes hostilities in Korea or becomes directly engaged in Indo-China. But both possibilities retreated still farther the moment Mao knew he was to be represented at the Big Five conference which is likely to be the prelude of a general conference on Asia. No matter how subtle the differentiation made by Mr. Dulles between "presence" and "recognition," his colleagues will regard the delegate of Mao at Geneva less as an outlaw than as the emissary of the most powerful nation in Asia, without whose cooperation very little can be solved in that part of the world.

[*The illustrations are reproductions of woodcuts by contemporary Chinese artists that appeared originally in the* China Monthly Review *of Shanghai.*]

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THE ECONOMIC REPORT

Too Little Too Late . . *by Wilfred Lumer*

THE outstanding fact about the President's Economic Report is that it substantially waters down the government's responsibility under the Employment Act. This reflects the antipathy to "full employment" of the business and financial groups that provide the Republican Party with its chief financial and political support. In addition, it was an inevitable result of the appointment of Dr. Arthur F. Burns as chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Watering down the Employment Act's "maximum-employment" objective illustrates once more a proclivity of the Eisenhower Administration for emasculating existing law by "administrative interpretation."

The Economic Report has been criticized for the following reasons: (1) it fails to take the objective of growth seriously, for it views optimistically a level of employment and income only "somewhat below a year ago." (2) It presents an "optimistic" outlook by attributing the current decline in employment and income to symptoms rather than causes. (3) It relies on past standards rather than future necessities as policy guides. (4) It hesitates to spell out how the needed growth in employment opportunities will take place during the transition from an increasing to a decreasing rate of defense expenditures. (5) It fails to deal with what may lie in between the very short-run outlook (1954) and the longer-run growth opportunities (1960's).

That Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, debt-manager Burgess, and Budget Director Dodge are dedicated to the objective of sound finance and the hard dollar is well known. Not so well known are the views of Dr. Burns, a key figure in the administration of the Employment Act.

WILFRED LUMER, staff economist for the Public Affairs Institute, is co-author with Bertram Gross of "The Hard Money Crusade."

In his last Annual Report for the National Bureau of Economic Research, May, 1953, "Business Cycle Research and the Needs of Our Times," Dr. Burns commented on President Eisenhower's campaign pledge: "Never again shall we allow a depression in the United States." "This declaration of governmental responsibility," he said, "goes well beyond the Employment Act." The outstanding feature of the quarter-century since 1929, in Dr. Burns's view, was the relative inability of New Deal expansionary programs to stimulate private investment or appreciably reduce unemployment. He pointed out that "eight millions were unemployed in 1940." "Extensive experiments in contracyclical action were undertaken," he continued, "of which *a persistent tendency toward easy money and a persistent difficulty in attaining budgetary balance became the principal outward symbols.*" (Italics added.)

When Dr. Burns accepted the post of chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers last summer, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York hailed his appointment as presaging "a new start in employment policy." Reviewing Dr. Burns's writings, in the July, 1953, issue of the *Guaranty Survey*, it concluded:

> All in all these views seem to augur well for as sane an administration of the Employment Act as statutory requirements and political necessities permit. They reflect a healthy skepticism and an awareness of economic realities that should work against a repetition of the fiscal profligacy and misguided experimentation of the 1930's, the naive faith in "continuing full employment" through "federal investment and expenditure" that prompted the original Full Employment bill, and the dread of even minor business fluctuations that led to the adoption during the early post-war years of what Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, former chairman of the C. E. A., aptly termed "inflation as a way of life."

Most significant of all is Dr. Burns's emphasis on the need to control booms, rather than to rely too largely upon measures to check downswings.

Dr. Burns has expressed himself clearly on the Keynesian method of analysis and its doubtful utility for economic-stabilization policy planning:

> Our limited experience with contracyclical policy [measures to deal with inflation or deflation] does not provide strong support for the belief, so often expressed by theoretical writers, that the government is capable of adjusting its spending, taxing, and regulatory policies with the fine precision and promptness needed to assure virtually full employment and a virtually stable price level at all times.
>
> It may be hoped, however, that *as knowledge of business cycles is extended,* contracyclical policy will improve and the burden of counteracting its own mistakes will become lighter. . . . (Italics added.)
>
> The "new economics," of which less is heard nowadays than a few years back, found little need for the study of business cycles as an earlier generation knew it. . . . Their bold thinking stimulated much useful analysis and research, but experience has not dealt gently with their simplification of Keynes's teaching.

At the time this statement was published, the Federal Reserve Board was learning by painful experience that the "predictions" made by those who simplified Keynes's teachings were correct after all. In May, 1953, the Federal Reserve Board began to back away from the new Eisenhower monetary policies. One of the ironies of the recent hearings on the President's Economic Report was the Federal Reserve Board chairman's expression of "humility" in acknowledging that the board had "made a miscalculation" last spring.

The introduction to the Economic Report, called Appraisal of the Current Economic Situation, aptly sums up the limitations Dr. Burns brings to his job as the official responsible for the policy planning necessary to administer and implement the Employment Act:

> As we turn from 1953 to the current year, we must first of all recognize the limitations of attempts at prevision. Despite the great improvement of statistical knowledge, it is impossible to deduce the

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future from statistics of the present or to infer it from records of the past. Only those who adhere to a mechanistic view of history and of human behavior, or who are enamored of forecasting formulae, can entertain such illusions. The best we can hope for is to minimize errors of miscalculation through making full use of available data, and to give recognition to those elements of uncertainty that attach to both the present and the future.

IN THE 1954 Economic Report Dr. Burns and the Administration have fulfilled all that the Guaranty Trust hoped for in its prediction of a "new start in employment policy." The report provides a blueprint for watering down as much of the Employment Act as "statutory requirements and political necessities permit," while conforming meticulously to the letter of the act. It restates the objectives of "expanding economy," "maximum employment," needed "growth," and the like. It sketches out a long and impressive list of anti-depression measures and recites as many commitments as it deems essential to meet "political necessities."

Maximum employment and expansion will be promoted, but the carefully defined limits of governmental responsibility and the point beyond which governmental action will not be pushed indicate that these objectives are not to be taken too seriously. For example, employment will be promoted only up to the point where aggressive government expansionary policies in the field of credit, public works, or fiscal policy threaten to produce "inflation."

In June, 1953, representatives of eighteen of the largest New York City commercial banks, members of the New York Clearing House Association, issued a report in which the primary recommendation was expressed as follows:

> . . . it is desirable that the so-called "employment mandate" of the Employment Act of 1946 be amended. It should indicate clearly that in the long run a relatively stable price level is of paramount importance in maintaining a healthy and stable economy and, therefore, the aim of "maximum employment, production, and purchasing power" is to be achieved within the framework of a relatively stable price level.

One of the first tasks Dr. Burns has accomplished is to make unnecessary the amendment proposed by the New York Clearing House Association. In his capacity as administrator of the Employment Act he has made an administrative interpretation which serves the purpose of the proposed amendment.

Chapter 12 of the 1954 Economic Report, titled Dealing With Economic Instability, lays down the Administration's employment-policy guide, to which "every act of administrative decision or proposed legislation" will be subjected. This guide is "the attainment of an expanding economy with *maximum employment and without price inflation.* That was the basic intent of the Employment Act of 1946, and *it is a guiding principle of this Administration.*" (Italics added.)

Failure to incorporate expressly the "relatively stable price level" limitations on the maximum-employment goal, recommended by the New York Clearing House Association, was not due to negligence on the part of those who supported the act. On the contrary, the unmistakable intent of the majority not to impose this crippling limitation accounts for its omission. Professor Sumner Slichter of Harvard University, no New Dealer, wrote in mid-1952:

> It is high time the public understands that these two objectives are in conflict and that we can have stable prices only at the cost of preventable unemployment and that we can have maximum employment only at the cost of some long-run rise in the price level.

Concerning the implications of the "stable price level" requirement, Professor Slichter said:

> All this amounts to saying that the preservation of capitalism requires the maintenance of a moderate amount of unemployment. I do not believe that capitalism must maintain a certain amount of unemployment in order to survive. . . . I believe that a slowly rising price level is less undesirable than the volume of unemployment necessary to keep prices stable.

Courtesy York *Gazette and Daily*

IT SHOULD BE clearly understood that this writer, in citing Professor Slichter, does not accept his premise that monopolies should be allowed to administer price increases at the expense of governmental economic-expansion programs. Rather the writer agrees with Professor Alvin Hansen and a recommendation along similiar lines made by the Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Economic Report of 1950—that monopolies should be required to give advance notice of price increases. Proposed price increases would be deferred until a special board appointed by the President had made a full investigation and held public hearings on their necessity. Publicity rather than coercion would serve to restrain monopolistic pricing practices.

If Dr. Burns and the Administration had indorsed Professor Hansen's proposal for the establishment of an Office of Price Research which would report to the President on proposed increases, and if this office had been in operation, the "last ditch" round of administered price increases made in June and July, 1953, by the steel, aluminum, electrical, and petroleum industries, which the Economic Report studiously ignores, would have been postponed till fall. By September it would have been clear that the increases were intended to compensate for the expected drop in demand. Since price rises could only serve to aggravate the downturn, they would have been discouraged by the special board. Monopolies might in this way be effectively curbed, without resort to coercive measures.

Having amended the Employment Act for the bankers, the least Dr. Burns and the Administration can do now is to recommend safeguarding wage-earners from the resultant loss of employment and consumers from unnecessary price-gouging by unrestrained monopolies. Another section of the Economic Report, Actions in Case of Need, lays down limits to government intervention:

> The need . . . for preparedness by government does not justify constant stirring or meddling. *Minor variations are bound to occur in a free economy. The arsenal of stabilizing weapons will be drawn on not more frequently than is required to help*

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maintain reasonable stability. Nor will flexible policies aiming to minimize economic fluctuations be permitted to interfere any more than is necessary with the *fiscal objective of bringing down the scale of federal expenditures, reducing taxes, and arriving at a budgetary balance.*" (Italics added.)

The definition of "minor variation" and "reasonable stability" is not so precise as readers may think. The current hot political debate indicates that what is "minor" or "reasonable" is in part based on value judgments and can produce differences miles apart. In fact, the report itself describes the fall in non-agricultural employment of more than one million since mid-1953 as "the minor contraction of recent months." On the other hand, there can be no mistaking the direction of the government's fiscal objective and hence the kind of limited compensating role the government may be expected to play in implementing the maximum-employment objective.

More significant than the limited role for government indicated in the key policy sections of the report are the risky prescriptions offered for our current and prospective economic ills. Indorsement of Secretary Benson's agricultural program means accepting the view that agriculture is "over-expanded." It means that the Administration is willing to accept the risk of lowering farm prices and farm incomes *after* the "close of a general expansion in business," rather than expand consumption up to existing production levels. Indorsement of Secretary Humphrey's tax-revision program means acceptance of the theory that "production creates its own market." Economists long ago discarded Say's Law. Similarly, only the classical economists went as far as Secretary Humphrey in believing that every act of saving inevitably leads to an act of investment.

It is clear that the Administration's "plan" for implementing the Employment Act consists of providing a political climate in which investors and business will be given the greatest possible incentives to create and maintain "employment opportunities." However, if investors and business do not find the customers to go with the "climate" they will not provide the jobs.

For the reasons already discussed the Administration will not promote the expansionary policies and programs necessary to implement the "maximum-employment" objective of the Employment Act. Moderate amounts of unemployment will be tolerated. Efforts to stimulate private investment continue to be pushed, evidencing a belief that investment can be expanded indefinitely while weakening of consumer demand is neglected.

Lessons of 1929 are being dangerously ignored. Investment will not proceed indefinitely at rates that are not maintainable. Government compensating action delayed too long will lead again to a serious decline in business activity and employment. At that point the gap in employment will be "much too large for government to fill without undermining the value of the currency, the private enterprise system or both," as the *Guaranty Survey* said.

It's Amazing

"It's amazing how a layoff will increase production. On one of our production lines the same number of workers are turning out 10 per cent more work than they did a year ago. . . . Absenteeism is at a near record low, and labor turnover is fast approaching the record low of ¼ of one per cent set in 1949."—*Allan H. Sheahin, Personnel Director, Thompson Products Company's Cleveland Tapco plant as quoted in the* Wall Street Journal, *February 16, 1954.*

LOYALTY TRAP

For Church and Synagogue . . *by Martin Hall*

Los Angeles

LAST November the voters of California adopted by a vote of 2,900,000 to 1,300,000 Proposition 5, which obliges the state's tax collectors to disallow tax exemption to "subversive" persons or organizations. To carry out the intent of this proposition the California Assembly had earlier passed a bill adding to the existing Revenue and Tax Code the provision "that organizations and persons who have been exempted from any state or local property tax declare at least once each year that they do not advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States or the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means nor advocate the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities." The deadline for either filing the declaration or refusing to do so is March 15, 1954. It is a felony to make the declaration falsely. This is the first time any state of the Union has tried to impose a loyalty oath on churches, tax-exempt educational or charitable organizations, or individuals such as veterans who have in the past enjoyed certain exemptions from local or state property or income tax.

The implications of this legislation are so grave that the attention of the nation should be called to them. For many churches and educational institutions which own considerable property, to lose the privilege of tax exemption might well make the difference between continuing their activities or closing down. If by the use of its tax power the state can destroy churches which it views with disfavor, the separation of church and state will be fundamentally affected.

The declaration, which amounts to a new type of loyalty oath, would have to be signed for the church or corporation by the chairman of the board, who would thereby assume the responsibility

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for every member. The scope of this responsibility is shown in a statement prepared by the American Friends Service Committee:

Can we take this oath with a clear conscience when we have supported conscientious objectors who have used unlawful means to make clear their opposition to war . . . when we have allowed meetings in the Meeting House of groups and persons who might at some time be put on someone's list . . . when many of us have advocated the admission of Communist China to the U. N. . . . and when all of us have advocated loving and feeding our "enemies" in North Korea?

To take such an oath may bind us in future actions. At some future time it may even be interpreted as requiring us to investigate the loyalty of our members, our contributors, and those to whose support we contribute.

The same statement declares later:

Loyalty is an individual and not a corporate matter, and mere words cannot guarantee the loyalty of either words or deeds. The things which this law does not say or try to do, but which have been done under similar laws here and abroad, include attempts to subdue "liberals" and "pacifists" and to impose a uniformity which denies freedom of thought, speech, and assembly.

The Quakers are not the only group that is disturbed. A letter sent out to all Unitarian churches and societies by the Pacific Coast Unitarian Council on January 22, 1954, says:

From time to time our folks have talked about the propriety of churches accepting a tax-exempt status. It is their feeling that we should share equally with all others in the services by which we are benefited, protected, and served. Some also feel that a church's voice on public matters is weakened by being the beneficiary of special consideration and that if we were paying as much as others we could and would speak to greater effect. . . . Certain of the English monarchs did use the power of taxation in a selective way and taxed certain churches right out of business. On the theory that the power to tax is the power to destroy, the principle of exemption was enunciated. Regardless of prevailing opinions in power at any time, freedom of religion may not be limited or coerced by crushing taxation.

Speaking of varying views on this matter, it continues:

Another suggests that this signals the state dictating to the churches what they may or may not believe or profess. If now the right of the state to so use the threat of its taxing power is granted on a nominally political, though also philosophical and ultimately theological, issue, will not the freedom of the church have been seriously compromised?

At a special membership meeting of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles on February 21, the following resolution was passed by 206 to 31:

WHEREAS, The Unitarian movement historically and at present is dedicated to the preservation of our Constitution and Bill of Rights; and

WHEREAS, Assembly Bill No. 923, also known as the Levering Act, constitutes a direct assault on freedom of conscience and separation of church and state as guaranteed to all Americans by the First Amendment; now therefore be it

Resolved, That the membership instruct the Board of Trustees to refuse to sign the declaration contained in Section 32 of the Revenue and Taxation Code and to take such legal and other steps and incur such expense as the Board of Trustees may deem advisable in challenging the validity of the declaration and in attempting to retain our tax-exempt status.

The Reverend Dr. Weir, president of the Los Angeles Church Federation, called a special meeting of the federation to deal with the situation. He expressed his personal opinion to this writer as follows:

I am deeply concerned about the secrecy with which this bill was passed. It appears that some person or group in the legislature was preparing a trap for the churches and similar organizations. The fundamental problem which it seems to thrust upon us is that the state at least appears to seek to control the conscience of the church and to predetermine conditions for membership. As loyal Americans and as Christians we are baffled by the assumption underlying this bill that the church is a questionable institution and has to be brought in line by legislation.

A meeting of the Council of Liberal Ministers of Arizona and Southern California to discuss the bill was held at the Universalist Church in Los Angeles on February 3, 1954.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California has authorized the filing of at least one test suit and contemplates a second test suit for some individual questioning the constitutionality of the law. The American Friends Service Committee for Southern California will not sign the oath; neither will many churches. Some churches have called special meetings to give the membership a chance to participate in the decision.

Nevertheless, a large number of churches and the great majority of educational and charitable organizations will probably sign, either because they are unaware of the law's implications or because they feel that the wording of the oath presents no problem to them. So far no educational organization or foundation has stated its position on the bill. Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, former president and chancellor of the University of Chicago, however, has characterized it as "unwarranted, highly undesirable, and one that could well alter the traditional relation between church and state."

Some sort of test case in the courts is certain to be initiated. It is to be hoped a large and respected church or even a group of churches will act. Such organizations as the American Friends Service Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union might give support by appearing as friends of the court. A. L. Wirin, chief counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California and one of the country's outstanding constitutional lawyers, said at the meeting of the Council of Liberal Ministers:

Perhaps there is a reasonable likelihood that the time has come when, if a church organization resists the imposition of a loyalty oath, there is a fair chance that the resistance might be successful even in the courts . . . In any event I say what is going to happen in the courts is utterly unpredictable. Some of it will depend on what Chief Justice Warren does. Much of it will depend on the climate of mind, a climate of opinion which may be greatly influenced by a church organization joining the great struggle against loyalty oaths and against the invasion of the privacy of opinion and conscience.

The Reverend Dr. Weir, whom I quoted above, repeated to me a remark made to him during his trip to Europe in 1948 by a German Protestant minister. Reminiscing about the fight between the German Protestant church and the Hitler regime, the German said to his American guest five years ago:

We had to make the grave decision between loyalty to our religious conscience and loyalty to a regime. All outward appearances notwithstanding, I wonder how soon the time will come when you in America will have to make that same grave decision.

Perhaps that time is already here.

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BOOKS

Elmer Davis: Undwindled American

BUT WE WERE BORN FREE. By Elmer Davis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $2.75.

By Archibald MacLeish

THE most important thing about this book is its author, and the most important thing about its author is the fact that he exists. If it weren't for Elmer Davis and a few more—but chiefly Elmer Davis—an observant traveler might conclude that the Americans were dying out. Like the moose in Newfoundland, which are reported to be perishing of some obscure psychological disorder—crashing half-blind into trees, mooning morosely around swamps, unable or unwilling even to rid themselves of their ticks.

A generation ago the Americans were fairly common in this country. You could hear them blundering about in the bush at all hours, sniffing at everything, snorting at what they didn't care for, elbowing their way through any kind of trouble, respecting themselves and intending to be respected by others, cautious maybe but hard to intimidate and impossible to stampede. One mark of an American was the way his neck would swell if you tried to tell him what to think or where to line up. Another was his courage, not always wise, and his humor, not always subtle, and the way he got round by himself.

American conservatives, back in those days, were men who believed in conserving America, including the American Constitution, including also the American Bill of Rights, regardless of the opposition—men like Charles Evans Hughes. American liberals were men who believed in the achievement of the American Revolution no matter who was against it. And neither side ran in packs. And neither side was herded by fear or by anything else. Where they have gone to now, and why, is the great American mystery. With the moose it is said to be the climate.

About all we can really be certain of is that the big single animals are disappearing and that their place is being taken by something very different—something that loves a herd—something that reacts not to conviction but fear—something that has a strange look against the background of our history. John Keats, who took a wholly unreasoning dislike for Devonshire because his brother Tom lay sick there, wrote his friend Bailey that "a Devonshirer standing on his native hills is not a distinct object—he does not show against the light. . . . Homer is fine, Achilles is fine, Diomed is fine, Shakespeare is fine, Hamlet is fine, Lear is fine, but dwindled Englishmen are not fine." Neither are dwindled Americans. But what is least fine of all human objects is the American so dwindled that he can only run in herds.

TO SUCH AMERICANS the existence of a man like Elmer Davis is a living reproach—which is perhaps why so many of them hate him. But it is not the hatred of the dwindled which makes Elmer Davis so particularly valuable to this place and time. It is the reminder he gives us all of what an American really is and therefore ought to be. The reviews of this particular book I have seen have almost all emphasized its courage. But Elmer Davis, I feel quite sure, does not think of it as courageous. He knows as well as anyone that he runs risks—the risk of privileged attack upon his reputation which is the familiar weapon of the men he has exposed.

But unless I am very wrong, he would regard it as shameful to his country and shameful to himself to dignify that danger by facing it with anything but contempt. An American—what an American once was and what Elmer Davis still is—cannot permit himself to believe that it takes courage to tell the truth in this Republic. To believe that would be to believe that the enemies of American freedom have already destroyed it and that the herd now rules. Mr. Davis has his sober doubts about the immediate future, as any sensible man must have, but I don't think he considers that the tradition of individual liberty and of the government of the people by *themselves* has yet been wrecked.

Aside from its enormous importance as a reaffirmation of the value which Elmer Davis represents for all of us, his book will be chiefly useful for its first long chapter, Through the Perilous Night, in which the record of the attack on the freedom of the mind, and thus on our society, based on freedom of the mind, is set forth in masterly fashion. Most liberals know the story only too well, but no one else has been able to place it in the due perspective which Mr. Davis's sanity and common sense and saving humor provide. What more feverish writers present as terrifying, Mr. Davis presents as ridiculous and contemptible and merely evil, and the objects of his attention shrivel in consequence as they should. It is a disease from which we suffer; not the trump of doom.

But for me the most memorable chapter of the book is Mr. Davis's History in Doublethink, reprinted from the *Saturday Review.* Most of us have suffered from that irritation which Mr. Davis confesses in his foreword—irritation with "the smug self-assurance of certain people who think that because they were completely wrong twenty years ago, they must be completely right now that they entertain diametrically opposite opinions." It is tiresome, not to put a stronger epithet to it, to be barked at from the right by people who used to bark at you from the left, but it is also illuminating. It suggests that nothing has really changed but the label: the motivation is the same. The only man who hates American liberalism more than a Communist hates it is a Communist turned reactionary.

It should be added by way of postscript that one of the reassuring consequences of the publication of Elmer Davis's book is the kind of review it has elicited. Some of them, I have no doubt, have reflected the views of the

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people Mr. Davis is attacking, for considerable sections of the press are committed to those views. But in independent publications the reactions have been heartening—a proof, if one were still needed, that honor is far more contagious than its opposite. One review in particular has demonstrated how very far indeed a single candle can shed its light even in the naughtiest world. I refer, of course, to E. B. White's review in the *New Yorker*. Mr. White's piece is worthy of its subject, and adds another to our cherished proofs that the Americans have not altogether vanished: there is also E. B. White.

Critic as Moralist

"MODERNISM" IN MODERN DRAMA. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Cornell University Press. $2.75.

By Harold Clurman

THIS little book (131 pages), the reprint of a series of lectures delivered at Cornell University, is at least to one reader the most interesting its author has written on the drama. It is stimulating and illuminating—even if one disagrees with large parts of it—because it frankly has an ax to grind. Most dramatic criticism relates to very little outside the drama—hence its triviality.

Mr. Krutch here disclaims any attempt to discuss the drama as such. He speaks as a moralist, not as a critic. His thesis is that the ideas of the modern drama lead not to a bright future but to something like intellectual and moral paralysis. The reason for this, according to Mr. Krutch, is that the modernists sought to break with the basic moral premises of the past, which were that man is a creature capable of dignity, that life, even in its manifold imperfections, is worth living, and that the realm of human rationality is the realm in which man may most fruitfully live.

Seeing modern drama from this viewpoint makes Mr. Krutch's book sympathetic, penetrating, and slightly exasperating. The thesis and its illustration suffer from an oversimplification which may easily lead to falsification. It might justifiably be argued that the dramatists Mr. Krutch blames for embracing the corrosive "modernism" he rightly rejects wrote their plays in anguished or vigorous protest against false "modernism," in other words, the corruptions of contemporary society (from 1870 on). Rebellion and denunciation of inert orthodoxy do not necessarily bespeak lack of moral conscience. The blasphemous are sometimes more truly religious than the devout. The destructive bent of many of the modern dramatists Mr. Krutch cites may be regarded as a function of their creativeness even in the moral sphere. To determine whether the iconoclastic dramatist is on the side of the angels or on the other, one must bring to bear upon each work one's complete aesthetic and human sensibility.

Mr. Krutch's much too short book is thoroughly worth while precisely because it can arouse controversy of this sort.

Three First Novels

THE WHITE CITADEL. By Charles Neider. Twayne Publishers. $3.50.

BLACK IS A MAN. By Harry Roskolenko. Padell Book Company. $2.

THE HEAVY DAY. By Jack Potter. Broadway Book Store, Chicago. $2.

By Maxwell Geismar

HERE are three first novels that are off the beaten track. Charles Neider has already published studies of Kafka and Thomas Mann; the present book is set in the Bessarabian-Jewish scene of his childhood. The hero is a provincial banker, a successful man in his community, who is nevertheless weary of his existence and of the jealous and nagging ministrations of a neurotic wife. The provincial ways and old-world characters depicted are what make the novel distinctive. The action is domestic tragicomedy in which parents, neighbors and friends combine to overwhelm the hero with the cumulative obligations of his tradition, even while the wife takes a bitter revenge. The tone is plaintive, tender, ironic; the material is fresh; what is even more remarkable these days, the author is wise.

At the opposite end of the scale Harry Roskolenko's "Black Is a Man" is a rough, tough, and funny burlesque of the white man's racial phobias. His hero, also a respectable member of the community, has become a Negro as the result of an obscure disease. Through this somewhat improbable device the novel manages to take off the most grotesque aspects of race prejudice and to show up the diseased human imagination which has created them. The hero suffers in turn for being white and for being black. He suffers, indeed, for everybody and everything, but the tone is grandly comic, and Mr. Roskolenko's parable may do as much good as a dozen sociological treatises.

Jack Potter's "The Heavy Day" (published originally under the pen name of John Hart) lies about halfway between these two novels and is a highly effective mixture of social satire and human compassion. The hero is a typical Chicago business man who begins to wonder, at forty, what has happened to his life and to his personality. The narrative traces the events of one summer hot spell from George Mazer's morning reverie ("The new day would bring no relief") to a nightmarish scene

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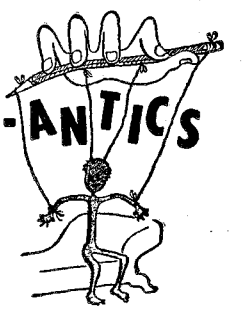

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at his golf club, where he drinks too much and disgraces himself before his associates and financial superiors. The orbit of business in the United States and its effect on our social types have also suffered from the current taboo on "social criticism." "The Heavy Day" is one of the few recent works of fiction to deal seriously, and sometimes brilliantly, with its theme. The material is so good, in fact, and the writing so talented, that the present "novel"—hardly more than a novelette—should be expanded into a full-size work.

New Books in Brief

Stories to Whet the Mind

NOBODY SAY A WORD AND OTHER STORIES. By Mark Van Doren. Holt. $3.50.

If evidence were needed of Mark Van Doren's literary versatility he provides it in this volume of no less than thirty-three stories. Some of them are frankly fairy tales told with a matter-of-fact simplicity that does not insist on hidden meanings but unobtrusively induces the reader to seek his own. The others cover a wide range of subject and treatment. In a number of the most arresting ones the method follows a pattern of presenting a situation, sometimes quite commonplace, sometimes novel, occasionally eerie, and then sketching in with a poet's acute perception the events leading to or from it. As in Mr. Van Doren's distinguished poetry, the expression is deceptively simple and transparent, veiling more than meets the casual eye. Rather than a surfeiting meal, this book offers a varied assortment of intriguing appetizers that whet the mind to serve itself further.

Easy to Read—and Forget

THE PONDER HEART. By Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace. $3.

THE UNTIDY PILGRIM. By Eugene Walter. Lippincott. $3.50.

A massive double dose of Southern charm with none of the customary Southern gloom. "The Ponder Heart" is a delightfully told tale that sheds a little of its credibility toward the end when Uncle Ponder, a dear old halfwit with a mania for giving away his possessions, is tried for murder and triumphantly acquitted. To read it is like listening to a non-stop talker rattling the village skeletons during an evening of racy gossip. "The Untidy Pilgrim" is another conversation piece, with characters who cut their eyes and priss around in the best Southern tradition. Its scene is Mobile, Alabama; its author has been "bored slapdab to death by the Sad Cypress school"; its pages teem with eccentric characters and cute phrases; and its hero learns about love from three really outsized specimens of Southern womanhood: "The Ponder Heart" occupied most of one issue of the *New Yorker*. "The Untidy Pilgrim" is a Lippincott prize novel. Both are a pleasure to read and easy to forget.

Trapped in Hungary

THE MIDNIGHT DIARY. By Michael Burn. Lippincott. $3.50.

A tender, thoughtful and unpretentious story of a lonely woman who survived internment in Nazi camps, only to be trapped in Hungary by the advent of communism and by her own indecision. The author, a former London *Times* correspondent in Budapest, draws his heroine against the authentic background of triumphant communism—a background all the more terrifying because it is painted with restraint. Where the author fails is in making his heroine appealing, or at least giving her compelling motivations. As it is, the reader will probably end the book feeling less sympathy than pity for a woman who simply drifted along. Even with this weakness, however, the book is well worth reading. Mr. Burn writes with skill, and with good taste. And his vignette of life under the Red banner tells more than a dozen non-fiction books.

Brooklyn Lower Depths

THROUGH MIDNIGHT STREETS. By Joseph W. Meagher. Little, Brown. $3.75.

A curious novel of the lower depths. The scene is a tough waterfront hotel in Brooklyn, a hangout for petty crooks. There are many characters, but essentially it is the story of two men—a solid-seeming business type pushed by insecurity deeper and deeper into degradation and a happy-go-lucky youth who skirts the edge of the abyss but bounces back to safety. The book is weak in construction and coherence, but it offers a slice of grimy life, closely observed and skilfully described.

Vice from a New Angle

THE LITTLE STOCKADE. By Natalie Anderson Scott. Dutton. $3.50.

A story of the pimps and prostitutes who hang out at a sordid little lunchroom on New York's West Side; of how prostitutes are trained, customers lured, and rebellion suppressed when any of the boys and girls try to pick up a dishonest dollar for themselves instead of working through the Vice Boss. Natalie Anderson Scott, who wrote "The Story of Mrs. Murphy," has an authentic talent for making the sordid credible, and her novel is a startling glimpse of the oldest profession from a new angle.

A Boy Goes West

THE FOOL KILLER. By Helen Eustis. Doubleday. $2.75.

A smile-and-a-tear book that it is a pleasure to recommend. This new novel by the author of "The Horizontal Man" is the story of a runaway boy told in the first person in the Huckleberry Finn tradition and with loving skill. The people that twelve-year-old George Mellish meets as he makes his way West to escape the intolerable harshness of his adopted parents form a delightful portrait gallery of rural Americans just after the Civil War.

Medical Mysteries

ELEVEN BLUE MEN. By Berton Roueché. Little, Brown. $3.50.

Readers of the *New Yorker* will recall the twelve brilliant accounts of medical detection which have appeared in that magazine during the last seven years and which have now been collected in a book. Most of them show the methods of the New York City Department of Health in coping with odd outbreaks of disease and in tracing down the sources of infection. The title piece describes the steps by which it was discovered why eleven men turned blue after eating oat-

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meal in a certain lunchroom. Others deal with trichinosis, gout, typhoid, psittacosis, smallpox, tetanus, and botulism. The best chapter in the book tells how Charles Pomerantz, president of an exterminating company and a dedicated entomologist, discovered that an epidemic of a rare disease called rickettsialpox, which had mystified the authorities and laid low about a hundred inhabitants of a Brooklyn housing development, was caused by a mouse-borne tick.

Animal Behavior

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF MAMMALS. By François Bourlière. Knopf. $5.

Essentially a scientific work and largely a synthesis of innumerable technical studies, this book by a professor at the University of Paris is nevertheless perfectly accessible to the interested layman. Moreover, it fills an important gap between the "how to identify" manuals on the one hand and the life histories of individual species on the other. The question which Professor Bourlière asks is one on which increasing emphasis is being placed and which corresponds more or less to the contemporary tendency to study man also in terms of his institutions and societies. How do mammals work, play, reproduce, and make a living? What general patterns emerge after all the varieties of behavior have been studied? In the course of the investigation hundreds of facts are presented, and they make the volume one that both the professional and the layman will find valuable as a ready reference. But the ultimate purpose is synthetic: within what limits do mammalian anatomy, physiology, and behavior vary?

Artist of the Revolution

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF COLONEL JOHN TRUMBULL. Edited by Theodore Sizer. Yale University. $6.

John Trumbull, "patriot-artist," whose life work was the pictorial commemoration of the Revolution, wrote this book in his eighties as a defense against his detractors and a means of establishing his place in American art and history. Son of a famous governor of Connecticut, he enlisted enthusiastically in the Continental Army and rose rapidly to the acting rank of colonel. Then, feeling slighted in regard to his promotion, he resigned and went off to England to study painting under the well-known Benjamin West. Most of the rest of his life was devoted to art, though he ventured, rather disastrously, into commercial speculation and, with better success, into diplomacy, serving on the mixed commission established by Jay's treaty to adjudicate the claims of American merchants and seamen against Britain. Eventually he retired to New Haven, where he designed the Trumbull Art Gallery to house the collection of his paintings that he presented to Yale.

Trumbull was at best a second-rate artist, but as contemporary documents his paintings have a unique importance. His memoirs too are valuable, not for their literary merits, but as a first-hand account of life in America and England during the Revolution by a man who knew most of the notables from Washington down. We must be grateful, therefore, for this handsome new edition, impeccably edited by the professor of the history of art at Yale, who has added to its value by appendices filling in some of the gaps in Trumbull's own story.

The First Railroad War

VICTORY RODE THE RAILS. By George Edgar Turner. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50.

In this excellent book Mr. Turner examines the extent to which the Civil War was a railroad war. It was the first war whose outcome turned to a large extent on the way the railroad network was made to serve the purposes of a nation at war; that is, it was the first of the modern wars, the wars that rest on industrial power, the wars in which even the most valiant armies can do no more than their industrial foundations will let them do.

The railroad network was very new in 1861, and few men understood what it was capable of. Some of them never found out, including, as Mr. Turner remarks, the leaders of the Confederate government. To their inability to see how vital this new transportation system was to the war effort he traces a great part of the disaster that finally befell them. For although the South was terribly outmatched in rail-transportation facilities, it failed utterly to make the most of what it had. True, it lacked

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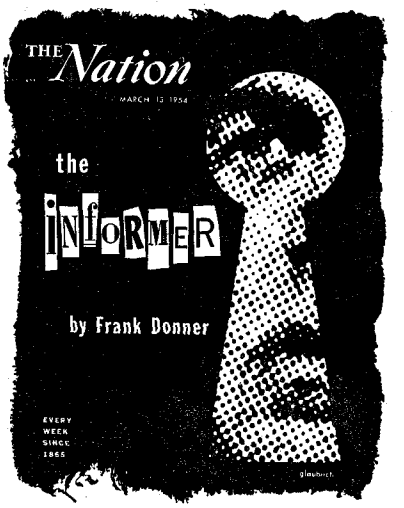

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materials and plants to expand its inadequate supply of railway lines and rolling stock, but it could have done a great deal more than it did. General Lee saw the problem clearly but could never make the government see it.

In the North the story was very different. The government not only saw the problem but could find the means to solve it. In the long run such men as Hermann Haupt, who showed the army how railroads could really be used, contributed as much to victory as the more resplendent field commanders.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE nature of my reaction to "Ondine" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) makes it seem proper for me to address an open letter to its star. Therefore:

Dear Audrey Hepburn: Perhaps it will strike you as unkind if I say that the response of the audience—including, of course, that of the reviewers—to your performance in "Ondine" is more a private manifestation than a critical judgment. It is as if everybody were asking for your telephone number.

You are enchanting. (How tired you will soon become of hearing this!) You must forgive me if I begin this way, because, though apparently self-evident, it is a statement that cannot be addressed to many actresses of our day. The stage at present has only a few really beautiful women, and most of the screen beauties resemble posters rather than people. Yours is truly a face. It is a face that has fineness, breeding, grace, and in the large lovely dark eyes there is something that appears to withhold part of yourself for yourself, as well as something that seeks to behold the fascinating world outside. This is rare and precious, and our ecstatic clamor is a cry for the uncommon.

Your delicate apartness shows itself in your choice of a vehicle. Giraudoux was a poet and an aristocratic wit: most of his plays are sparklingly veiled proclamations against the crassness of contemporary civilization. The attraction of "Ondine" for an actress like you and for a good part of the public relates to our deep need to get away from the kind of realism that merely mirrors what is ugly to begin with. We are a little like those Frenchmen who at the end of the nineteenth century got so fed up with the naturalism of the *Théâtre Libre* that they took refuge in tiny theaters where Maeterlinck's hushed and misty symbolism was being revealed or went jubilantly mad when Rostand's "Cyrano" was first brought to them. For somewhat the same reasons there is nowadays a growing appetite for the mood play as differentiated from the plot play.

But young as you are, dear Audrey, you must guess that that is not the whole story, for it is clear that you are as bright as you are sensitive. The audience, while adoring you, coughs a little too much as your play unfolds. For my part, while admiring Giraudoux and enraptured by your presence, I still found that I ceased following the play's text about halfway through the second act, and could never, despite all possible good-will, get with it again. It was not that I was bored—how could I be with you on the stage in the third act, modestly weeping and cutting so exquisite a figure—it was simply a feeling that what the stage was offering no longer engaged my interest.

"Ondine" is not the best of Giraudoux's work. Charming spirit though he was, Giraudoux was no romantic. His style is opulent impressionism, playful irony, common sense and intellectual paradox appareled as whimsy. Giraudoux's vein is that of a high sophistication, mental refinement, and the ultimate of an ancient—I almost said attenuated—culture, decked out in very light attire. All this is heady and delicious as a wine of superb vintage, but it has little to do with the gravity and thick sentiment of the Ondine legend. Giraudoux can be sportive with Hellenic fable, sparkling about the crazy quilt of France suffering the taint of the twentieth century, but he loses some of his natural grace when he tries to shape the foggy mood of Germanic yearning into a Parisian pattern. There is a basic discrepancy here between manner and matter, and the result is only intermittently harmonious.

The bridge between the two elements can only be effected by the most original and imaginative sort of production. The production you shine in is expensive and old-fashioned fashionable; it is not creative. Instead of evoking a new or different world, it gives the impression of a ballet setting in a post-Ziegfeld musical. It is more pedestrian for all its fancy but essentially conventional air than a bare stage might be.

Still, it is you I am most concerned with now. You are not only beautiful, you are gifted. You have vivacity, your body is trained as well as trim, you are capable of dedication—you follow the director as unselfishly as an actress should—you are, in short, a wonderful instrument with a soul of your own. But, said old Grandpa Ibsen, talent is not just a possession, it is a responsibility. You are at the beginning of your career; because this beginning is so dazzling you must not allow—as so many others do—the beginning to become the end. Your performance in "Ondine" *as acting* is sweet, young, technically naive. Your training as an actress is still in its early stages: you do not yet know how to transform the outward aspects of a characterization—the water sprite you play—into an inner characterization. For this reason your performance actually lacks mystery, a dimension beyond your own entrancing self.

You can learn to be a real actress if you do not let the racket, the publicity, the adulation, and the false—that is, ignorant—praise rattle you away from yourself. Most young people on the stage have the problem of how to gain an opportunity; for you and all the brilliant youngsters of the present generation, the problem is to make something of your opportunity. Keep on acting, studying, working—and not always at your greatest convenience. Play parts that are risky, parts that are difficult, and do not be afraid to fail! Above all, play on the stage—though I do not suggest that you give up films. Do not trust those who tell you that screen and stage acting are the same species or of equal artistic value: it is simply not true even when Jean Louis Barrault says so.

Devotedly yours,

HAROLD CLURMAN

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Music

B. H. Haggin

THE few hundred people who made the trip to Circle in the Square on the rainy afternoon of February 21 for one of Alexander Schneider's chamber music concerts were rewarded with one of the great concerts of the season —great by virtue of the music it presented, Schubert's Trios Opp. 99 and 100, and the compelling ensemble performances by the trio comprising Schneider himself, the cellist Frank Miller, and the pianist Horszowski. The performances would have been compelling anywhere; but in this small place one was close enough to the players to be affected by the intensity with which they operated—and to discover incidentally that it was on his most delicate inflections of phrase that Miller expended his greatest, most audible effort. At this close range one also heard with Miller's impassioned cello tone the sounds of bow on strings that aren't heard in the distances of the concert hall; but no such sounds accompanied Schneider's lyrical violin tone. As for Horszowski, he could produce nothing better than the glassy tone of the piano that had been provided for the concert.

From Circle in the Square Miller presumably rushed up to Carnegie Hall for Cantelli's final broadcast with the NBC Symphony, while I rushed home to listen to it. There was this time a performance of Beethoven's Fifth which—like earlier performances of Haydn's No. 88, Schubert's No. 9, and Tchaikovsky's No. 4—was something completely and beautifully achieved and finished, accomplished with complete control and yet with relaxed ease, and with the youthful lyricism and purity of intention that are so touching in Cantelli's work. I was especially grateful for the performance of Tchaikovsky's No. 4—the first in my forty years' experience that gave me an accurate realization in sound of what Tchaikovsky set down in his score, and one that showed him to have been a better composer of his music than Stokowski, Koussevitzky, Mengelberg, and all the others who have insisted on recomposing it for him.

A record with Nos. 11 and 12 of Handel's Concerti Grossi Op. 6 completes London's series of recordings of the twelve performed by the Boyd Neel Orchestra. No. 11 is less familiar than No. 12, and turns out to be less attractive. The performances are good.

London also has issued performances of Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 44 ("Trauer") and 48 ("Maria Theresa") by Wöldike and the Danish State Radio Symphony that are much finer than the ones issued by the Haydn Society a few years ago. Written in 1772 when Haydn was forty, they offer characteristic and impressive manifestations of his matured powers, but not what those powers achieve in the last symphonies twenty years later.

Mozart's Symphonies K.385 ("Haffner") and K.551 ("Jupiter") are played on a Capitol record by Steinberg and the Pittsburgh Symphony. The pacing of K.385 is good; but the occasional almost brutal inflection and accentuation in the Andante and excessive loudness in the trio of the minuet contribute to an impression of coarseness; and the recorded sound of the first movement is curiously muffled and unnatural. Except that the Andante is played Adagio the performance of K.551 is good; its recorded sound seems compressed and airless.

Beecham's old performance of K.385 with the London Philharmonic, superb except for the slow pace of the minuet, and his equally fine performance of K.425 ("Linz") have been reissued on a Columbia LP. The dubbed sound of K.385 is insufficiently bright; that of K.425 is more satisfactory.

Except for an occasional slight virtuoso-style mannered inflection or wail Milstein's phrasing in his performance of the Mendelssohn Violin Concerto with the Pittsburgh Symphony under Steinberg is straightforward. His tone comes out a little thin and edged, requiring slight reduction of treble. With the Bruch G minor Concerto (Capitol).

When I last heard Liszt's "Faust" Symphony years ago I found that the banal and inflated moments were made negligible by the poetic and musical quality of the great part of the work; but rehearing it now I find that the few impressive details in the first movement and the few lovely ones in the second aren't enough to make me willing to endure the long-winded banality and grandiloquence—even with the cuts made by George Sebastian in his good performance with the Colonne Orchestra of Paris (Urania). He uses the instrumental ending; and the fourth side has "Mazeppa."

Chabrier's Suite Pastorale, his orchestrations of four of the fascinatingly original "Dix Pièces pittoresques" for piano, are played well by the Paris

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Conservatory Concerts Orchestra under Edouard Lindenberg. On the same London record are the Karg-Elert orchestrations of five charming pieces from Bizet's "Jeux d'enfants" for piano four-hands, and the Beecham Suite of moderately engaging pieces from Bizet's "La Jolie Fille de Perth."

An enlarged Suite from Copland's superb score for "Billy the Kid," which now includes the beautiful music for the dream pas de deux, is played well by the Ballet Theater Orchestra under Joseph Levine. On the same Capitol record is the William Schuman music for "Undertow."

Letters

Pattern for Committees

Dear Sirs: If our lawmakers are concerned with protecting both individual rights and general safety I suggest to them the following:

1. All legislative investigations to be held *in camera.*

2. All witnesses to be represented by counsel.

3. Names of witnesses, either friendly or hostile, to be held secret.

4. All statistical or general information revealed to the press or to the legislature generally shall be issued under the imprimatur of the committee as a whole.

5. When information harmful to the reputation of an individual is allowed to leak out to the press, an appeal may be made to the laws of libel by the victim.

6. Any criminal behavior by witnesses revealed in the course of a hearing shall be reported to the Attorney General for action.

These safeguards would secure the basic rights of all, including the government, and once they were robbed of headlines, the McCarthys, Jenners, and McCarrans would disappear from public life.

MURRAY ZACHARY REED

Fresh Meadows, N. Y.

Quebec's Troubles

Dear Sirs: You have probably noted that our provincial Premier here in Quebec, Maurice Duplessis, is on the rampage again. He has brought in union-busting legislation which has aroused the greatest protest in the ranks of labor in the history of the province. The action of his Censorship Board in banning the film "Martin Luther" from exhibition has aroused controversy all over Canada and has brought to the fore again the whole question of the relationship between the provincial government and the non-Catholic and non-French groups here. Even a few Catholics are questioning the wisdom of the Premer's action in this matter.

He is also trying to defy the Supreme Court by passing legislation which places further clamps on the activities of Jehovah's Witnesses, which have been the object of frequent attacks by his government in the past.

Montreal, Canada W. E. GREENING

Exception Noted

Dear Sirs: Your editorial of January 9 entitled The Lash, Club, and Mailed Fist was entirely correct but for one thing. The Los Angeles *Daily News* did report this story objectively and emphasized editorially that such hoodlumism is not a race or slum problem; that similar affairs involving the scions of the well-to-do in Beverly Hills, Pasadena, etc., are either glossed over or not publicized. The *Daily News* also severely criticized the Hearst and Chandler papers for their treatment of the affair. Therefore your criticism of the Los Angeles press should have excepted the *Daily News.*

Topeka, Kan. CHARLES BIETRY

Clothing for Africans

Dear Sirs: Liberals today look with admiration upon those African nationalists who employ Gandhi-like methods instead of violence in their struggle for independence. Many of us wish to aid them.

You will be pleased to know that a committee is collecting money, books, and clothing for groups in Kenya, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and South Africa who practice non-violence. The funds will be used to support the families of imprisoned resisters. Readers of *The Nation* who wish to help should reach African Committee, War Resisters' League, Room 825, 5 Beekman Street, New York.

New York BAYARD RUSTIN

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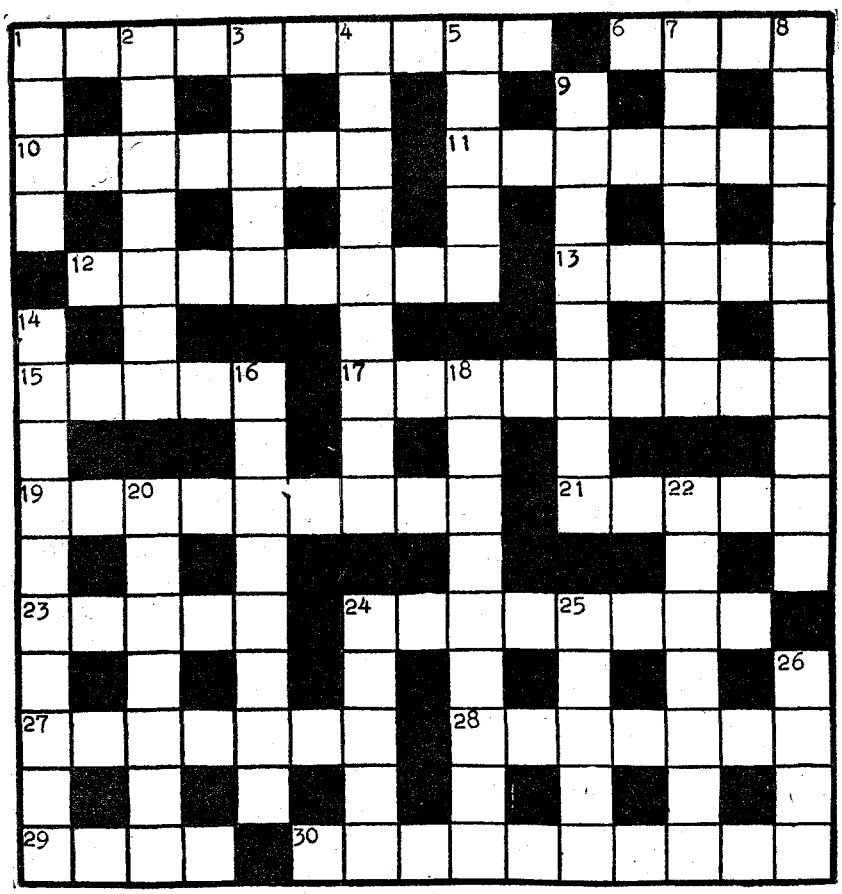
Crossword Puzzle No. 557

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Exchange blows? (A musician who doubles in brass is likely to.) (5, 5)
6 Just a reasonably good exposition. (4)
10 Continue to find something saucy about little sister. (7)
11 and 24 down. Is this essentially damask? (5, 2, 5)
12 and 13. Somewhat more hasty on the part of the essayist? (6, 2, 5)
15 Minds. (5)
17 Pertaining to a certain famous man disguised as a sort of alien duce. (9)
19 Bucket brigade, but not the first squad? (5, 4)
21 Heavy accent? (5)
23 Turning point. (5)
24 Does it come after the shock of ultra-conservatism? (8)
27 Turns to objects and to verbs. (7)
28 Most people are somewhat leery of their filling stations. (7)
29 Old town blown up by the British? (4)
30 Contracting a cord with broken net? (10)

DOWN

1 The final blow? (4)
2 Brilliant golden. (7)
3 You can't have noticed it here without a girl. (5)
4 Go to bat for someone? (9)
5 Happy, for example? (Incorrectly draw a loud conclusion from it.) (5)
7 You should know this by heart or ear association. (7)
8 Can upset the surroundings in the best of taste. (10)
9 Spear a fish? It's probably more than just a stall! (8)
14 Does the plaintiff in such a case complain of not being held up? (3–7)
16 Cries "Conservative" in the Agony Column? (3, 5)
18 Yet he's not the only one to give orders. (9)
20 This should pick us up one way or another. (7)
22 "Whom do you lead on Rapture's roadway, far,
Before you _____ them in farewell?"
(*Kashmiri Song*) (7)
24 See 11 across.
25 The way some aerialists work in return should be fitting. (5)
26 This, Son, is a hat! Leave it alone! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 556

ACROSS:—1 THROWBACKS; 6 EGOS; 10 RESPECT; 11 OARLOCK; 12 INDETERMINABLE; 14 GOSSIPER; 15 EGERIA; 16 ORANGE; 18 WELL-READ; 22 DISAPPOINTMENT; 24 TREACLE; 25 EROSION; 26 RATS; 27 UNDERSIGNS.

DOWN:—1 TARKINGTON; 2 RESIDES; 3 WRESTLING MATCH; 4 ASTARTE; 5 KAOLIN; 7 GROWLER; 8 SAKE; 9 TRIANGULATIONS; 13 HANDSTANDS; 17 ALIMENT; 19 EPIGENE; 20 and 23 EVENING STAR; 21 SPLEEN

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